l: Karsten--142 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 828 (1928-29)

"All the rules in regard to fasting mentioned above originate in a special idea, deeply rooted in the mind of the Indians with whom we are dealing. Not only do they believe that a man, by eating a certain animal or a certain vegetable, may acquire the characteristic qualities of that animal or vegetable even in minute details. They are firmly convinced that there exists such an intimate relation between a man and the work he is doing or has just done that his own qualities, both the essential and usual ones and those temporarily acquired--through eating a certain food or in other ways--may literally be transferred to the object or result of his work. A man in the most real sense of the word puts something of his soul into the work he is doing, the effects of this transference making themselves felt even for some time after it has been finished. Numerous other instances referring to different departments of the domestic industry of the Indians have already been mentioned which illustrate this view, and others will presently be mentioned. A custom like the couvade, for instance, which occurs among the Jibaros in an interesting form, will be found to rest upon similar ideas."

1: Karsten--365-368
116, 771

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"The above description of the great victory-feast is based on my own direct observations during the visit I made to the house of the Jibaro Shakaĕma at Chiguaza on the upper Pastaza, a visit described by me before. In all I have been present at three victory-feasts of the Jibaro Indians, but the second and the third time I did not stay longer than two days, since I found that the ceremonies performed were exactly the same as those performed at the first feast. As I have stated, these ceremonies may vary in certain details among different Jibaro tribes, but the differences are insignificant and unessential. From inquiries I have made, I venture to assert that the ritual of the feast is remarkably uniform throughout the Jibaro country. It may be necessary to point out this, because the short descriptions hitherto appearing in the literature (for instance in Rivet's book on the Jibaros)are evidently not consistent with actual facts, being probably founded on the untrustworthy information given by the mestizos of Macas or other occasional visitors.

A few general remarks may be added as to the significance of the feast.

If we analyze the numerous ceremonies described above we find that all of them are founded upon certain fundamental ideas. First, that in the trophy (tsantsa) the spirit or soul of the killed enemy is seated; secondly, that the spirit, attached to the head, is thirsting for revenge and is trying to harm the slayer in every possible way; and thirdly, that if this danger is paralyzed through the different rites of the feast, the trophy is

changed into a 'fetish,' a thing charged with supernatural power which the victor may make use of in different ways and in different departments of life.

The idea that the soul or vital power of a person is concentrated in his head, and particularly in his hair, seems to be common to all lower peoples in the whole world and gives the explanation not only of a number [366] of peculiar hair customs, but especially the practice, existing among some savage tribes, of taking the scalps of slain enemies or preparing their heads as 'trophies'. At any rate the use which the Jibaros make of the heads of their enemies and the ceremonies which they perform with them are throughout founded upon this idea.

Again, the idea that the spirit of a murdered man is seized with desire for revenge and that his revengeful attitude is first of all directed against the slayer is also quite natural and universally met with in lower cultures. In regard to the Jibaros, the interest is especially attached to the childish and naive means by which the Indians fancy that they can keep the feared spirit at bay, and which are the same as those resorted to for keeping off a living human enemy. Thus the measure to keep the trophy tied to the murderous weapon, the 'demoniacal' chonta lance, the rattling with the shields at the most important ceremonies, the attempts to inspire the spirit with fear by making noises, by threatening movements and dancing, and to 'wash off' its malignity

and desire for revenge by washing the head in a magical solution, all illustrate, in different ways, the primitive conception that the Jibaros have about supernatural beings and the possibility of influencing them.

It seems somewhat more difficult, at first glance, to understand the fundamental idea mentioned in the third place, namely, that the trophy, if all rites are properly performed at the feast, is turned into a real fetish and becomes a source of blessing to the slayer himself and his whole family. The power which the trophy is supposed to possess, of course, is due to the spirit attached to it, just as the natural magical power of the living human body depends upon the soul or vitality inherent in it. The souls or spirits of dead men are endowed with a special energy and potency, and among the Jibaros, as among other South American Indians, all gods, spirits, and demons seem to be nothing but departed human souls. From this point of view there is hardly anything strange in the idea that the spirit of the killed enemy, over which the victor has acquired complete domination, is able to confer upon him all those material blessings which are mentioned as the most important effects of the tsantsa. Among many Indian tribes in Ecuador and elsewhere there prevails the custom that the surviving relatives offer a special cult to the deceased family father, in which different kinds of food, drinks, etc., are laid upon his tomb. If the departed spirit is satisfied with this cult, he is believed to reward his loving relatives by making their fields flourish and bear

fruit, and by increasing their domestic animals, that [367] is, by bestowing exactly the same benefits as are expected from the head-trophy duly initiated. The difference between this religious act and the mode of treating the spirit of a slain enemy adopted by the Jibaro Indians appears to be that in the former case we are dealing with a real cult with offerings, while in the latter we are dealing with a purely magical conjuration which is supposed to exert an irresistible force upon the being influenced. That the Jibaros consider the latter means the more effective appears from the extraordinary importance ascribed to the so-called Einsupani feast. Some of the ceremonies at this feast also, as we have seen, have for their object to increase by artificial means the natural power of the trophy, in much the same way as an electric battery is charged with electric force.

A curious idea appears in the victory-feast in that the victor himself on the one hand, is believed to be in danger from the spirit of the killed enemy, but on the other hand, on account of his having gained possession of the enemy's head, is invested with a special mysterious power. Moreover, he is able to transfer this power by contact to other persons and to things. This explains why the victor must, in the way that we have seen, assist, for instance, at the brewing of the manioc-wine for the feast and at the preparation of the sacred drink natéma. Similarly, something of his power is transferred to his wife and daughter and may, through them, become active in agriculture and in

certain other departments of life.

With a similar mysterious power the priest (whuéa) and the priestess (oháha) are endowed. As a 'priest' or conductor of the ceremonies at the feast, as stated before, only an old warrior can officiate who himself has killed at least one enemy and celebrated a victory-feast. His insight, experience, valour, and other prominent military qualities acquired during a long life, and especially the magical power he has acquired by slaying his enemies, seems to be conceived almost as a physical reality, and his powers can, like that of the victor, in a certain degree be transferred to other people. It is for this reason that he always holds the hand of the victor at the most important ceremonies, the idea being that the action in question will thus have more emphasis and importance. The same holds good of the priestess, through whose cooperation all actions performed by the women, and particularly by the wife and daughter of the victor, secure the tone and stress necessary.

The important role that the women in general play at this feast of the warriors is actually due to the fact that the principal object of the tsantsa is to promote those phases of the economic life of the Indians [368] with which the women have most to do, first of all agriculture and the increase of the domestic animals. The mysterious power with which the victor himself is invested will automatically extend to thos persons with whom he is intimately related, and when there are two female relatives

assisting at the ceremonies--in this case his wife and his daughter--its effects upon that department of life will be so much the stronger. The same idea appeared in regard to the 'tobacco feast', where two female relatives of the principal person of the feast had likewise to assist.

The tsantsa of the Jibaro Indians, thus, is not a 'trophy' in the common sense of the word; not exclusively a mark of distinction or a visible proof that an enemy has been killed. The Jibaro warrior not only tries to take the life of his enemy, but above everything wants to secure control of his soul. Conformably to this, the so-called Einsupani is not merely a victory-feast in the sense familiar to us, but at the same time, and in the first place, a kind of mystery feast which, when we are able to penetrate into its real meaning, throws an interesting light not only upon the social life of these Indians in general and the ideas they connect with their wars, but also upon their, in some respects, rather far-reaching religious views."

1: Karsten--371-372 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros in their pagan state have no notion of a Supreme Being and a Creator of the world. Some Indians on the Upano mention the Christian God under the name of Yusa (a corruption of the Spanish Dios), but they know practically nothing else about the religion of the apachi (their name for the whites), which to their mind has little or nothing to do with the supernatural beings in whom they believe themselves. However, the religion of the Jibaros can by no means be called a pure demonology, nor are their religious practices reduced to mere magic, as has frequently been said to be the case among the primitive tribes east of the Andes. In connection with the agricultural rites and the 'tobacco feast of the women' we have already made acquaintance with religious ideas which may be termed lofty, and with a worship where a magical element can hardly be recognized. We have seen that the Jibaros believe in two higher deities, the Earth-mother Nungüi and her husband Shakaĕma, revered as the mother and father of the whole Jibaro culture; but these deities have little in common with the Supreme Beings which are reported to exist among several other low races in different parts of the world. The great benevolent Earth-[372] mother of the Jibaros and her loyal husband Shakaĕma, although they are neither regarded as creators of the world nor as moral beings in the strict sense, are nevertheless of singular interest, being as they are in any case genuine creations of primitive Indian imagination."

1; Karsten--423
116, 771, 789

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The religious practices of the Jibaros are so manifold and in part of so peculiar a character that it is almost impossible to bring them under any commonly recognized categories. Thus there is no rite which can be termed 'sacrifice', except the food offered to the dead, and the 'prayers' addressed to the Earth-mother Nugüi are also peculiar, having poetical form and being always sung. All other practices are in their character magical and of these, too, different categories can be distinguished. The worshipper's aim may be, for instance, to ward off the spirits, or to obtain their favour and enter into alliance with them. There are also magical practices which have no reference to personal spirits at all."

1; Karsten--455-456
116, 771

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"Neither the Jibaros proper nor the Canelos Indians in their native state know of any special resting-place for disembodied souls after death, though both tribes certainly have a firm belief in the continued existence of the soul after its separation from the body. During the first days and weeks after that separation the soul remains in the neighbourhood of its former material abode; hence food and drink is put out for it on the grave for some time. But soon the soul definitively leaves all connection with the body and leads an independent existence: it may transmigrate into earthly objects, into animals, plants, hills and high mountains, rivers, lakes, etc. The dark and dense forest is the favourite haunt of many disembodied spirits, others soar towards the sky and become active in striking natural phenomena, whereas others find no definite resting-place at all but hover about in the air and on the earth as evil demons. To these demons the Indians ascribe the majority of the unforeseen accidents, mishaps, and losses which they experience, and most of them are spirits of men who even in their lifetime were enemies, spirits of dead sorcerers, etc. It is thus obvious that the demons who people the spiritual world of these Indians partake of the nature of human souls. Some of the souls, called wakáni by the Jibaros and aya by the Canelos Indians, are changed into evil spirits or demons called iguánchi and supai respectively, and are dealt with in the different ways we have seen in recent chapters. On the other hand, the important class of supernatural beings whom we know under the name of arútama

show how the ancestral spirits are believed to take an interest in the fate of their descendants and become the objects of a real worship. The religion of these Indians as a whole may therefore be said to have originated in the deification and worship of the dead, especially the worship of dead ancestors. A special and peculiar side of this ancestor-worship will be met in connection with the ceremonial games which are arranged among the Canelos Indians [456] after the death of a family-father and will presently be described."

13: Rivet--251 [3] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 771

In short, it appears that, without having any need for temples or altars, beliefs of a religious nature dominate the life of the savage, and that superstitious practices are mingled with all the acts of his life.

"The tribe have no outwardly manifested religious beliefs, other than such as may be involved in the cult of the medicine man. Occasionally individuals would be met who had been baptized, as adults, at Gualaquiza, but they were not professing proselytes. The missions founded in various Amazon regions, from the sixteenth century down to the present day, have made little or no real impression upon the Jíbaro, where he has been reached at all by them; (38) but this is scarcely a matter for wonder, in view of the interruptions which they have constantly suffered through the stormy vicissitudes of South American history. 'The first blow to the missions,' says Mozans, (39) 'came when the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish colonies in 1767 by Charles III for reasons ocultas y reservadas. The second was delivered a few decades later by the leaders of the War of Independence, when members of other religious orders were driven from the scenes of their missionary labors. Since then, owing to the constantly perturbed condition of a greater part of the continent and the crippled financial condition of

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"38. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 87.
39. H. J. Mozans, work cited in footnote 6, p. 451."

most of the republics, little has been done for the Indians in the vast territories watered by the Amazon, the Orinoco, and their tributaries; and, as a consequence, many tribes that had, under the missionaries, made such notable advances in civilized life, have lapsed into barbarism and returned to their former wild life in the recesses of the forest. Thus, some twenty years ago the Franciscans established a mission, with schools and a medical dispensary, at Zamora, but after a brief existence its withdrawal was forced under the anti-clerical President Alfaro, during whose régime also the Jesuits were deprived of all authority in Oriente."

25: Vigna--39-40 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 771

Jíbaro Superstitions. We are tempted to state that all the manifestations having the value of religious acts among the Jibaros are a series of superstitions or superstitious practices, with more [40] or less influence in their daily life. In other words, the faith that they have in the "Yhuanchi", the forms of communication with the spirit, and all the suggestions victimizing the Jíbaros are simple superstitions.

54:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

776 so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take
775 the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they
[855] almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

776 Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years
825 equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain
775 species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampey*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampey* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampey* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampey* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampey* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on
775 the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor
[821] amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

774 Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakani*, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead
774 that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam*
778 soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gain-
771 ing a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society.

The *arutam* soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; external and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; non-shamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally acquired impersonal power, *kakaram*, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian *mana*.

The concept of the *musiak* furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. One may observe that the Jivaro are so preoccupied with killing in physical life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the *musiak* and the *arutam* soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jivaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

Shamanism and Illness

The Jivaro believe that witchcraft is the cause of the vast majority of illnesses and non-violent deaths. Practically the only diseases not attributed to witchcraft are "white man's diseases" (*tsentsa*), normally of an epidemic nature,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrhea. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply
"a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
• 771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will
to help others to deal with the forces that influence and
even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jivaro shamans (*uesilin*) are of two types: bewitchers
276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose
787 Jivaro name is *natemá*, in order to enter the supernatural
[824] world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[756] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of
the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jivaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yahi*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemá* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[10] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemá* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
787 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
828